



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

STANDARDS OF MEASUREMENT FOR RACE DEVELOPMENT

*By Howard W. Odum, Ph.D., Professor of Educational
Sociology, University of Georgia*

This paper purposes to consider very briefly and informally certain standards of measurement for race development. More accurately it may be said to present certain considerations concerning standards of measurement rather than to present the detailed methods themselves. The considerations herein presented relate to both the practical facts of the past and present, and to proposed objective measurements which scientific study may develop. Furthermore, the considerations are in outline form and largely critical and suggestive for the purpose of frank review of practical conditions and scientific knowledge on the subject; for the purpose of stimulating thought and interest; and for the purpose of suggesting definite methods whereby concrete studies may develop standardized results. This paper further applies primarily to the negro in the United States. That the subject in this relation is of the utmost importance will be recognized by all scientific students of race conditions and by practical students of education and sociology.

At the outset it is well to emphasize the importance of the term "Race Development" *vs.* "Race Traits" and to emphasize the distinctive field of study offered by organized efforts for considering knowledge and problems of Race Development. For the purpose of this paper especially, the term "Race Development" is much more desirable than "Race Traits" or "Race Psychology." Likewise from the viewpoint of scientific study of races, with the information now at hand and from the viewpoint of practical problems of society, "Race Development" offers a field for much more tangible results. This is true for many rea-

sons, some of which it is important to note here. "Race Development" offers a better medium for measurement; it assumes movement and progress; it assumes measurement of progress by differing and changing character rather than by fixed traits. It recognizes race character, group character, local character, chronological character, institutional character, and geographical and historical foundations. It enables the measurement of status and conditions without exclusive regard to cause; it recognizes fundamental differences in different groups; in fine, it is a term of evolution and of progress and in a very practical way leaves the question of original or innate race traits to the theoretical anthropologist. If we summarize development in human history as development in time; in space; in magnitude and scope of endeavor; in intensity of endeavor; in condition of adaptation; and in total social welfare; we may measure Race Development by ascertaining through objective methods the status or conditions of a given race of people at a given time or place, with reference to these several aspects of development. Thus our problem becomes a problem of measurement of condition or position compared with or removed from certain defined premises; with provisions for establishing a mode whereby one group or society may be compared with another; and in which the group or society compared may be a race.

Such measurement of conditions, however, is subject to numerous limitations. The whole question of measurement depends upon the standards by which measurement is made. The multiplicity and difference of viewpoints and standards make the problem most complex; make dogmatism out of the question and have given rise to a mass of conflicting data, opinions and so-called false science. The reported status of development of a race will vary in accordance with the several standards used, whether development in time, in space, in quality, in quantity or in general social adaptation be the measuring scale; or whether a single characteristic or group of characteristics be used as a standard of measurement; or whether there be one measuring agent or many. That modern society has made much progress

in quantity of achievement is not doubted, but that the quality of Greek thought has ever been surpassed is entirely problematical. That the estimate passed upon the development of the negro by the white race differs from that passed by the negro race; or that passed by the South from that of the North; or that passed by a native American from that of a foreigner; or even that of one school of scientists from that of another school will not be questioned. The fallacies of false measurement and the desirability of accurate measurement will be pointed out in connection with subsequent suggestions, each of which will of course have its own limitation. Suffice it here to emphasize the importance in attempting to measure race development to determine as nearly as possible the predominating or sum total characteristics which distinguish the race or group from other groups or races; from other periods of its own development; and to compare this *ethos* or character with the best standards that are most commonly accepted by the best authorities.

Among the fallacies commonly met with in the study and discussion of the negro problem, two may be discussed briefly as specifically important in connection with this presentation. The first fallacy leads both the students and the public to consider all facts relating to negroes as characteristic of all negroes. There are two aspects of this common fallacy which need emphasizing. The first has to do with the student or worker and the second with the public attitude at large. There has been not infrequently a tendency on the part of writers to consider, absolutely, characteristics of the negro without distinguishing different groups or stating the scope to which their assertions might properly apply. Of the unreliability of this something will be said subsequently. On the other hand, efforts and studies are often limited in their effectiveness because of the haste with which specific problems and conditions are confused by the public with the total problem or with the negro. It is therefore necessary for the student to avoid this fallacy by selecting specific problems and fields for experiment and study in order to reach conclusions just as he does in other broad research or public endeavor. It is also necessary for

the public mind to accept his result without attempting to apply them to conditions with which they are only indirectly related, or without accusing him of gross inaccuracy because he has not portrayed specific conditions of one unit of work true to entirely different units. The student may not select as his work in the laboratory the negroes in certain southern towns and apply his result to the negro race everywhere. But after having selected this field and having made his investigations and defined his usage of the word negro as applying only to that group, he may then give his results as a contribution to the whole subject. Or again, if he desires to make a study of negro children in the schools, he may investigate and portray certain social and home conditions which these children have met. So far as this study is concerned his facts are essential and representative. But this does not mean that he has applied results to all negro homes, or that he has exhausted his field of research here. He may desire to go further and investigate certain more general conditions of the negro children's environment and so report certain groups of representative facts that are essential for his purpose, giving all the while their relation to the whole possible group of facts to be obtained. This does not mean that he applies the facts obtained to the whole group of negroes. Indeed it is essential that he define from time to time the application of his results and note differences in other groups. This, however, does not detract from the essential value of the selected facts which he has been able to find as the necessary basis for this work.

Suppose we apply the principle of the above brief statement to a specific measurement of race development, as found in a concrete study of a large group of negroes, as of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The negroes constitute some 5 per cent of the total population of the city, but are segregated variously in groups so that in certain sections they form from 10 to 40 per cent of the population of these sections. They are further distributed throughout the city in contact with the whites. The total negro community approximates 100,000; the negro population is increasing

more rapidly than the white with a tendency toward new segregations in the city. This increase of negro population has averaged more than 50 per cent for each of the last two decades. Such a large increase is brought about, not by natural increase, but by congregate grouping chiefly of immigrants from nearby Southern States. The composition of the negro population is further widely varied including the majority of the classes of negroes found in the United States. This negro population again has a preponderance of young people between the ages of fifteen and thirty years, with a small number of young people under fifteen years and children under five. The preponderance of females is even more abnormal and the largest excess is between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five years. Furthermore, irregular home and family conditions exist to a large extent; the families are relatively small and irregular; there is only a relatively small average overcrowding but many aggravated cases; the negroes have to occupy inferior homes and pay relatively higher rents; they are limited in the scope of their occupations being restricted mostly to general labor and domestic services; while at the same time they often receive less wages than the whites who perform similar work. Living conditions and habits tend to increase the low standard of home life and to limit the products of good constructive living. The negroes own little property, and property owners for the most part are engaged in the same sorts of occupations as non-property owners. Private and social habits, health conditions and crime are such as to involve almost endless difficulties in the progress of the negroes and their relation to the whites about them. In all phases of life the negro female is unusually prominent. The church constitutes the basis for a large part of social activities, supplemented by numerous organizations and miscellaneous means of amusement. From every possible standpoint of negro life, conditions are especially difficult for the training of children and for the children themselves. Segregated thus in distinctly different conditions from the larger body of whites their environment may be said to be a separate environment. Other aspects of the social con-

dition of the negroes are important but cannot be included in a brief summary of the principal facts of population and general environment. These aspects include all the details of physical and social conditions of the negroes and their larger economic, social, and political relation to the whites. Each furnishes in itself a field for special research and this statement shows the further complexity of any selected problem of the negro. What of the results of social and political maladjustment? What of crime and pauperism? What of the details of diet, rest, recreation, sex life, and health? How much depravity really exists? What of heredity, insanity, feeble-mindedness and suicide? How far can the causes for conditions be ascertained? Again the entire question of domestic service and efficiency, of race contact and admixture, of the rights and wrongs of discrimination enter largely into the full consideration of the negro in the city. The political aspect itself constitutes a large problem. Again how much is the negro discriminated against by charitable and religious institutions? What social forces from without are active in his behalf? What social forces can be brought to bear from within to give him social control? Such are the questions that suggest themselves almost without number. To answer only a part of these must not be confused with the sum total, nor confused with any broader theoretical consideration of traits, tendencies, both physical and mental. These will come in their place.

What may be termed a second fallacy is the tendency to believe the problems of the negroes can be relegated to certain positions or transferred into certain dimensions at will. While the problem of the negro does involve separate and distinctive principles, thus making it a large and unique problem, it is not, nor can it ever be segregated as an unrelated problem of the commonwealth or society. To assume only immediate and local aspects of the situation does not alter the far-reaching significance of the problems involved. The larger problem of the future is the problem with which the relief of present difficulties should be correlated so far as is possible. This does not mean that the

future can be exactly foretold, but that the study of and public policy toward the problem should be such as to establish certain broad evidences of the ability and equity of the American commonwealth to deal with a problem at once difficult and cosmopolitan.

Before arriving at specific methods of attempted measurement of race conditions another important illustration may be given to show the complexity of the situation, as regards the negro in the United States. Take for example, the question of negro education. Next to the political aspect of the negro problem, and not aside from it, the question of educating the negroes has constituted a basis for the most varied discussions and activities. But such discussions and efforts have rarely been put forth primarily concerning negro education but concerning the more abstract theories relating to the problem of the existence of a race, undeveloped and unassimilated in the midst of an extremely heterogeneous people. The question has been now of individual and national duty, now a question of expediency and possibility, and now a question of social, economic and political relations. Not infrequently the negative aspects have been magnified. It is the problem of the negro: What will he do? What shall be done with him? Should he be educated? Will education develop the race? Should he be educated as the whites are educated? Should he be given a liberal or industrial education? The public aspects of the problem have been naturally the most immediate and important ones; perhaps this is even more true today. This may be well enough, but with the years of discussions and experiences, the problem seems just as unyielding to any definite solution and there is little organized experience or knowledge upon which to base conclusions. The question may be raised as to whether or not it is better to analyze the principles, methods, and means which shall be the basis for reaching the desired ends. The nearest approach which has been made to the kind of education needed to develop the qualities of citizenship and adaptation that are sought, is that included in the general question of negro industrial education. From this it has resulted that negro educa-

tion is often considered synonymous with industrial education. So that after all, considered as a problem of education solely, has the problem of training the negroes been adequately touched? The ideas involved have assumed an ultimate outcome based on an education the particulars of which were taken for granted to exist, regardless of basic principles of the genesis, application, and administration of such education. Again, no analysis or study of special processes, motor traits, or general qualities that may be developed, trained and adjusted in the negroes, has been made, no basis of industrial efficiency or citizenship has been worked out. Race development is advocated but no inquiry is made into the principles of eugenics or orthogenics applied to negro children. Education is recommended and discussed but pedagogical applications are not specially studied or adopted. There are few studies even of more elementary problems of school grades, progress or retardation in which negroes are compared with whites or other races. Experiments and special scientific inquiries such as are numerous in the study of modern school problems and education, are wanting in the study of negro education. The question here involved is whether or not negro education should be considered along with education in general, or whether or not it should be classed as a separate division in those cases where the question is primarily involved. And if recognized as a special aspect or separate problem, should it not then have the careful consideration, study and means usually accorded such a problem?

It would thus seem very imperative to apply the accepted methods of science and education to the problems of negro education even on its merits as an individual and as a separate problem. Whether it be for the purpose of ascertaining the exact status of the problem, for working out the difficulties which it offers, or for contributing to organized knowledge, the need is equally imperative. But there are still other important factors. Given a satisfactory solution of the problem as commonly viewed and discussed, the difficulties must be readjusted and solved again when the question involves two or more races directly and simul-

taneously. Heretofore, the problem of educating negroes, while complex in many ways, has been considered almost solely as a problem of educating a separate class without the difficulties that arise from applying accepted methods simultaneously and under the same school conditions, to both white and negro children. The negro has been thought of as a segregated unit. The negro can be educated or he cannot, he can have a liberal education or an industrial one. That is, given an accepted program of educating the negro, it has been assumed that the only thing needed was to carry it out independently of other factors. Now the problem of race conflict and adjustment enter largely and the question of different standards is thus raised, involving various phases of disproportion and adjustment. The growth and distribution of the negro population in northern cities leads to new and large developments of the situation. It is safe to predict that the larger problem of educating the negroes in the United States will involve to a large degree the principles which are predominant in the problem of mixed schools. The problem of educating the negroes alone is complex, the problem of educating negroes in schools with white children as in northern cities becomes both complex and compound. Thus the question of measuring negro development by educational standards is at present at most an experiment.

Following out the idea of measurement it is manifestly inaccurate to assume that because negro schools in the Southern states are not provided with money equal to that of the whites, that therefore, an injustice is being done to the negro; or that the negro does not want the schools; or to take such an objective standard of measurement as final without inquiring into the intimate conditions and essentials involved. The importance of these considerations is emphasized by the fact that no average relative estimate of the negro problem is possible, just as there is no average opinion concerning all aspects of the question. One portion of people may feel intensely and think constantly concerning the question while to another it is practically unknown. So also, comparisons of different relations may not be made

because relations are not of like denominations. There are those who, separated from the problem, look upon the statement of its difficulties as a long-stated pedantic recital. There are others who believe that all difficulties are overestimated and that their adjustment is a matter of interest but of little special significance. Many others view the problem from the standpoint of theory, evolution, philanthropy, religion, politics, or personal interest. There are, moreover, those in the midst of the problem who are most optimistic concerning both the present situation and the ultimate outcome, while there are at the same time those who hold extreme views in the opposite direction. There are those who believe the negro shall have all rights and many privileges and there are those who believe that he should have few rights and no privileges. There is a strong tendency on the part of many to view the entire problem with indifference, and the public is generally tired of the whole matter. Furthermore, each individual and, sometimes, groups of individuals are wont to view the various aspects of the subject through an already established subjective content of mind or through preconceived ideas which have formed an attitude not always open to conviction. Little intellectual charity is manifested in the general attitude toward the negro problem or studies of the problem, and undoubtedly experience justifies this to a large extent. Again, there is little coöperation in a common search after truth, whether because of the press of other things, lack of interest, or unwillingness. There is need to avoid the oversensitiveness so commonly found both North and South and the apologetic attitude toward the subject. But on the other hand there are those among both races who feel that the question is one of the very highest possible importance to them and their children. Many students in this country and some abroad, believe that America has no problem more disquieting and perplexing than that involved in the proper and permanent relations between the white and negro races. And there are those strongly organized who expect to fight without compromise on the principle that either the negro has no right in this country,

which is an avowed asylum for all the races of the world, or he has the right which carries with it all the other rights of humanity. They go further and say that the negro either has the fundamental privileges of other races or he has no right to existence; he must, they say, then be given these rights or be exterminated.

Again although the mode of feeling South and North is becoming more and more alike, it is a long way from the extreme southern view of relations between the races to the radical northern view, the significance of which few people recognize. There is a vast difference between the white man's view and that of the negro, or between the two extremes which are advanced by the negroes themselves. To attempt, then to harmonize the means and extremes and to strike as it were a mode or an average is scarcely possible. But in seeking the adjustment of conditions in which these difficulties are found it is possible to make careful analysis and because of this very complexity to leave nothing undone in the effort to establish the truth. Thus will be effected measurements of race condition and development which will be of practical value.

Enough has been said to illustrate both the complexity of the practical problem of the negro in the United States, and to indicate the lack of definiteness in methods of attempted estimates of conditions. This complexity however, will be illustrated more effectively by citing a number of traditional conscious and unconscious standards of estimating negro development in this country. In connection with mention of these methods some of the fallacies involved will be apparent, and the list itself is illuminating.

Perhaps the oldest and most common method of forming judgment has been that of abstract race estimate. On the one hand, there has been an assumption of the innate equality of mankind eliminating questions of inequality of mind, body, race and other conditions. On the other is the traditional assumption of race inferiority eliminating the question of development and environmental influences. In the United States the two most common illustrations of this attitude have been the extreme Northern view

toward the negro, resulting in common assertions that the negro was the equal of the white, and in extreme cases the superior. This attitude, of course, has not been without its numerous exceptions. In the Southern states the attitude has been illustrated by the common assumption that the negro is in all respects inferior to the whites, and in extreme instances the assertion that he was little more than an animal. These views have been supported variously on the one hand by the abstract conceptions of philosophy, and life and citations of exceptional superiority; and on the other, by references to the achievements of civilization and practical experiences, together with citations of exceptional inferiority. Extreme references have been cited on both sides, and scriptures have been brought to bear, as evidence in measurements of race value. The chronicles of these various estimates constitute a peculiar literature in the history of the United States.

Among the most interesting of all estimates passed upon the negro has been the picturesque portrayal of the antebellum type as a standard of measurement for the whole race. Such estimates have influenced the mass of opinions, and have constituted a literature of considerable wealth. This class of character portrayal is well illustrated by the works of Joel Chandler Harris, Thomas Nelson Page, and others, and reflects, not only, the true character of the negro in partial instances, but also the spirit of the time.

Perhaps, the most common attempts to estimate the character and achievements of the negro has been found in those opinions and studies which represent the whole of the race by a few of its members. There are three important divisions of this method. First: the development of the negro has been measured by the chosen few. Here the exceptional deeds of the exceptional individuals in this country and the world over have been cited as the standard of achievement, regardless of any mixture of white blood on the one hand, or of the great mass of the race on the other. Second: the development of the negro has been measured by the misdeeds of the submerged group, and the fact that this group was large and furnished an unusually

large proportion of crime and disease has led to the conclusion that such a group represents final development in the negro race. The third phase of this method of measurement is found in the tendency to judge the entire race, and the possibilities of the race, by the great mass of individuals, thus substituting an actual mode of conditions for the entire variations and frequencies. In connection with these common estimates there has been a tendency also not only to limit judgment to a part of the group but to limit it to outward appearances only, or to single traits or characteristics.

Another commonly accepted standard of measuring the development of the negro has been that of estimating progress in terms of aggregates. The negro has been free for five decades, and has accumulated so many millions of dollars worth of property, therefore, he has made so much progress. He has had fifty years of freedom, and has developed so many leaders, so many professional men, and so many skilled workers, therefore, he has made such and such progress. This method is perhaps best illustrated by the writings of their own leaders. While a very valuable method of measuring achievement it leaves out distribution and ignores comparative influence and conditions as well as negative achievements.

Perhaps, the majority of the recent studies of the negro have attempted to measure his status in terms of conditions and life, classified according to the customary mode of activities; the negro at home; in business; at church; at school; in politics; his general economic condition; his health and housing; his income and expenditures; and his social life with whatever other activities that may be accepted as the index of social conditions. This mode of measurement generally assumes the standard of the white man in this country, as the index of comparison. Still other studies have attempted to measure conditions of today in contrast to past conditions of the negro in this country, and results have been given to show that the negro has made great progress forward, and other results to show that he has deteriorated backward. Still other comparisons are

made between the negro in Africa and America, and as illustrated by Hall, Starr, Tillinghast, Ellis and others, these constitute valuable scientific data.

Although, for the most part the above mentioned standards of measurement have contributed something to the knowledge of the negro race, and to the improvement of conditions and to the promotion of evolution of the problem, nevertheless, the question arises, as to whether the scientific student of race conditions and race development must not use more clearly defined and objective methods, if he is to contribute scientific information. For the sake of suggestion, suppose that the graduate students in every large college and university in the country should set themselves to work upon the subject of measuring race development, as reflected in the negro in the United States. What methods and what standards of measurements will they employ to the best advantage? What methods are being used now? And to what extent is there useless repetition? There must be, of course, numerous concrete studies of social conditions, as indicated above, and these should be made as continuous laboratory experiments in the larger field of study. But aside from these, are there not better standards that have already been suggested and not tested? Are others yet to be suggested? Let us refer to some of these.

First of all, suppose a study of Race Development be considered from viewpoints of growth, and the negro be considered as a Child Race, or as an Adolescent Race, following the methods suggested by President Hall, the late Professor Chamberlain and Professor McDougal and others. Suppose again that the list of child qualities as suggested by Meumann be listed as units of comparison, and certain qualities of the negro race be compared with these. Or suppose the evidence of recapitulation be submitted as a standard by which the white and negro races be compared. Or suppose again that certain mental traits such as memory and reasoning, concreteism, suggestibility, and impressionability, attention, perception; or certain instincts, play, imitation, collecting, vocalization, emotionalism, lack

of rationalism; or again qualities of physical growth and development be listed as standards by which development is to be measured. The principles involved here would necessitate that the student first of all obtain the best possible list of child qualities and that he then ascertain with scientific precision, at least some of the qualities of the races considered, and that he determine his results, according as more or less predominating qualities tended to conform to his listed standard. That such a method applied concretely to the negro race with scientific precision would be of value can not be doubted.

A second standard of measurement is found in the enumeration of primitive traits, such as may be found in Sumner's *Folk-Ways*, in Tylor, Morgan, Webster, Boas, and many others. In this instance the student must select his objective units of primitive traits, such as those relating to kinship, marriage, the home, the family, sex, old age, youth, morals, manners, the mores, taboo, animism, religion, superstition, slavery, selection and the others, for example; he must then list the race studied in accordance as its characteristics conform to or from the described primitive standards. That Race Development can be measured in this way to some extent is very probable, and the method lends itself to objective results.

Other important standards of measurement will be found in the study of personality, character, and societal value. First: compare the classification of population offered by Galton and Ammon in which the upper and lower strata of the great middle class constitute the modal class by which one society may be compared with another. If the mid line of population represents the heart of the masses there will be above, the upper or better part of the great middle class, and above this special talent, and above this genius; while below will be the lower half of the great middle class ending further in the unskilled and illiterate group and further below is the potentially dependent or proletariat class, and still further are the defective, dependent and delinquent classes. Thus the development of a group would be measured by the degree in which it tended to

increase the proportion of its population above the lower classes mentioned to the increase of the great middle class and especially the upper half.

A practical illustration of variation in this general plan may be cited in the case of the community of negroes already mentioned, namely: those of Philadelphia, constituting perhaps the most representative community of negroes in the Country. Two decades ago, DuBois estimated the population to consist of four classes, with the common mass constituting 86 per cent of the total population. In 1910 the writer estimated that the population should be divided into five classes in which 8 per cent was listed as approximately the worst class, 15 per cent as approximately the worse class, 59 per cent as representing the masses, while 12 per cent approximated the better and 6 per cent the best classes, in which general classification the different groups were characterized more or less definitely but not with complete accuracy. Allowing for the necessary overlappings the curve of distribution in the classification gives the index of development viewed from the standard of societal value.

Another standard of grouping by which a population may be measured by social classes is that of the personality and vitality classes listed by Professor Giddings. The vitality classes are the physically normal with high, medium and low vitality sub-classes; and the defective with sub-classes, the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the congenitally deformed. The mentality classes are similarly divided into the normal, low, medium and high; and the mentally abnormal, with neurotic, insane and idiotic. The morality classes are the moral and immoral with sub-classifications of low, medium and high morality, and the unmoral, vicious, and depraved. The sociality classes are the social, with low, medium and high; the unsocial with the deindividualized, the desocialized and the degraded. So far as objective statistics are available such a standard of measurement ought to be applied extensively in the study of development and progress of the negroes.

Again, types of social character as standards of measure-

ment have been proposed and to considerable extent applied by Professors Ross, of Wisconsin, Thomas of Chicago, and Bailey of Sewanee. The first of these provides for a study of race psychology as reflected in prevailing characteristics or tendencies among which are belief in luck, charms, myths, superstition, looking into the future, thrift, calculation, control of instinct and impulses, diligence and application, sympathy to persons and ideals, faithfulness to contract, intellectual foresight, notions of disease, care of health, taste for rhetoric and imagery, religious emotionalism, stick-to-it-iveness, anxiety and worry about the future, love making and courtship, control of liquor habit, amusement and recreation, newspaper taste, spending money, funeral behavior, coöperation, distrust and lying and others, as represented in his general publications.

The second of the methods of characterization as proposed by Professor Thomas attempts to determine how a race rises from one level of culture to another, and which races are fit to progress, keeping in mind the whole question of backwardness at the same time. The standard of measurement emphasizes the social rather than the biological and economic aspects of the problem and important factors stressed are attention, interest, stimulation, imitation, occupational differentiation, mental attitude, accessibility to opportunity. Fifty-eight questions are listed in the questionnaire standard of measurement, and as a "tool" provide a good means of study but difficult to reduce to objective measurement.

A third psychological test has been suggested by Professor T. P. Bailey, with special emphasis upon ethological treatment. Six main tendencies are important in the ethological standard proposed: appropriative, expressive and gregarious as sensational tendencies; and the assertive, responsive, and perceptive as relational tendencies. He also proposes detailed units of measurement including a summary of possible traits and offers syllabi for the scientific and statistical study of the negro.

Other methods might be mentioned but these suffice to indicate the prevailing modes. The methods enumerated

above may be said to be standards of potentials largely and it is largely upon this viewpoint that educational sociology should view the study of race development. Perhaps, however, the most important methods of measuring potential development will be found in the studies of race psychology, race heredity and specific mental reactions. The first of these is omitted here for the reason already mentioned. The second provides for a study of inherited traits from generation to generation and with special emphasis upon variation and physical qualities. Such studies correlated with studies of environment will give accurate index of potential development. Hence the studies of the mulatto as urged by Professor Boas are of the utmost importance.

For the present it would appear that the more practical, most urgent, and most important method of study is that of the measurement of mental reactions or the manifestation of mental traits. The scope of such studies is limited only by the known objective methods of mental tests and the means and ability available. This method may be further explained by illustration of results obtained. In a study of school progress and mental tests made by the writer in the schools of Philadelphia the negro children were compared with the white children in the following subjects: Prevailing modes of home and general social environment; prevailing modes of school environment; prevailing modes of school progress, as retardation, elimination, scholarship, deportment, attendance, and relative aptitude; certain tests of intelligence and mental processes, as the Binet tests, tests for perception, association of ideas, controlled association, memory, learning; and the measurement of certain physical qualities. The results of these studies in objective measurement indicate differences in the manifestation of mental traits and intelligence between the white and negro groups to be greater than physical differences. The general conclusions were that as regards potential development, the negro children vary in efficiency inversely as the complexity of the process when compared with the whites, and their efficiency varies inversely as age progresses; that variation in all cases was greater among the

negroes than among the whites, the one conforming to multi-modal and wide distribution, and the other to the normal curve. A larger study is now being made at the University of Georgia using the same standards in the effort to test the results already offered. Professor Woodworth years ago made some measurement of sense difference in races and lately Professor Pyle of Missouri, Professor Morse of South Carolina, and others have found such measurements practical and resulting in tangible measurements.

Finally if a standard of community efficiency or general social development be desired, a measuring scale of progress may be provided to include the fundamental activities of community life subdivided into practical objective units of study. Thus in the measurement of a rural group, the following twenty heads are practical as a standard for measuring the development of any people or race. Farming efficiency, merchandise and exchange, transportation, communication, finance, organization and co-operation, health and sanitation, social satisfactions, the rural church, the rural school, civic education and effort, publicity and uplift mediums, womanhood, the home and family, rural aesthetics, development of leadership, recognition of leadership, rural values, growth and expansion, and coöperation with government. With such a scale properly subdivided and pro-rated the actual efficiency can be numerically indicated and one group compared impartially with other groups. If a similar measuring scale be desired for the city group, the units of measurements to be subdivided ought to provide for at least the following heads: Administration of government, city planning, public works, public health, sanitation and housing, charities, corrections, safety, public education, financial organization, civic uplift and general social services, private services to the municipality, and services to the adjacent rural communities. Such standards of measurement provide for a somewhat different sort of estimate of development and must be applied before a composite estimate of total development can be had.

In conclusion, certain qualifications should be empha-

sized. It is very clear that classification and objective measurements are the important considerations; that measurement of race development ought to be made in the same scientific way as other measurements; that inasmuch as there are no agreements either in individuals or groups, the effort should be made to determine the modal measurements. Instead of presuming to pass wholesale judgment upon a race or upon races, this paper submits, on the contrary, the problem of measuring race development as a scientific question upon which there is as yet little final information. In pursuance of the methods suggested two graduate studies are now being pursued at the University of Georgia, the one a study of group characteristics or character and the other a study of potentials as found in mental reactions and school progress. It should be urged that the method of this paper provided originally that the published efforts concerning the negro in this country be classified according to the respective standards of measurement attempted; that detailed references be cited to illustrate the methods suggested; that summaries of results and the present status of knowledge on the subject be attempted; and that the paper be characterized by more completeness of enumeration than by suggestiveness. These tasks themselves constitute a separate study well worth undertaking.